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Chairman:	Mr. KHOUNI	(Tunisia)
later:	Mr. FUENTES IBAÑEZ (Vice-Chairman)	(Bolivia)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN: Members will recall that, in connection with this item, which will be considered directly in plenary meeting, the General Assembly has decided that organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid will be permitted to be heard by the Special Political Committee. At its second meeting, on 9 October, the Committee decided to set a deadline of 22 October for the submission of requests for hearings and to consider all requests received by that date at a meeting prior to the hearings. The requests for hearings contained in documents A/SPC/47/L.4 and Addenda 1-8 were subsequently approved by the Committee at its eighth meeting on 30 October.

I propose that, following the practice of previous years, the Committee request a verbatim record of these hearings.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: I would appeal to all speakers in the hearings in connection with agenda item 33 to confine their remarks to the subject "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

The first speaker is Mr. Pheko, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and I now call upon him.

Mr. PHEKO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to be heard by the Special Committee on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the true custodian of the national aspirations of the dispossessed people of Azania.

The euphoria continues to grow and the deception continues to spread that the South African regime is serious about fundamental changes in South Africa, and all sorts of excuses are being made to deal with South Africa by people who claim to be committed to the dismantling of apartheid and the destruction of colonialism. Facts reveal that those changes are not fundamental and cannot dismantle apartheid.

The South African regime continues to fool the world. Here are some facts about the South African situation: There are over 500 political prisoners. There are a further 310 in death cells for so-called crimes stemming from the apartheid colonialist system. On 16 July 1992 Mr. Pik Botha, South Africa's Foreign Minister, told the Security Council that all prisoners had been released. Recently, however, the regime released about 150 political prisoners. He claimed it would release the remainder by 15 November. Meanwhile, the South African regime has submitted a bill in its minority racist parliament. That bill indemnifies all the criminals of the South African regime without disclosing the nature of the crimes of those criminals or their identity. The regime is therefore swapping its criminals for political prisoners. This is a gross violation of the United Nations

(Mr. Pheko)

Declaration of 14 December 1989. The release of political prisoners was a condition for creating a climate conducive to negotiations. The release of political prisoners was never a subject of negotiations.

In any event, let me draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that among the so-called political prisoners that were released in September 1992 were criminals of the South African regime. One of them is Barend Strydom. In November 1988 he gunned down eight innocent Africans in broad daylight in the heart of Pretoria. After his release as a so-called political prisoner, Strydom vowed that he would kill again should the need arise. He said he believed that daily each African tried to take the country back. As proof of his incorrigible criminal mind he called a press conference and announced his intentions on the exact spot where he had killed the victims of apartheid in 1988.

There is genocidal violence in South Africa. Fifteen people die every day. Boipatong and Ciskei were only the tip of the iceberg. There have been 50 major massacres since Mr. De Klerk became leader of apartheid South Africa. Mr. De Klerk blamed everything on so-called black-on-black violence. He denied the existence in his barracks of Buffalo Battalion 32, Koevoets and other mercenaries and death squads. But on 15 July 1992, on the eve of the meeting of the Security Council, he announced that he was dismantling those instruments of genocide. He has not explained how he could dismantle something that did not exist, something he claimed he knew nothing about.

The South African Security Forces are implicated in the ongoing violence and destabilization of the African communities during the so-called transitional period. The Human Rights Commission, in its report for the period July 1990-June 1992, reported 5,700 known incidents of violence. Many

(Mr. Pheko)

more incidents are not reported. The forces implicated in these incidents are as follows: Security Forces, 1,790 incidents; South African Security-Force fronts, 2,782 incidents; hit squads, 225 incidents; white right-wing forces, 207 incidents; and others, 696 incidents. Three hundred people have been shot at random in trains and buses.

Mr. De Klerk has also used the 17 March referendum to deceive and mislead the world into thinking that he was serious about genuine negotiations. But, in fact, after that most misunderstood and misinterpreted referendum the South African Parliament budgeted 11,124 billion rand for its army. The regime also set aside 5 billion rand for secret operations. That amount is not subject to audit. Meanwhile, the oppressed and dispossessed Africans continue to die like flies, notwithstanding the fact that South Africa has a police force of 114,000, the largest police force in Africa, but one that protects only whites, while only Africans are burying.

The PAC has called for verifiable expulsion of all mercenaries from the country, under international supervision. The cold-blooded genocide of the Africans by the South African regime is accompanied by a massive recruitment of immigrants, especially from the Eastern European countries. The objective of the killing of Africans is to reduce the African population numerically. The recruitment of European immigrants must be stopped until there is a new, democratic constitution and a democratically elected majority government in place.

It must also be pointed out that, despite the "National Peace Accord", more people have died and continue to die, and that only Africans are frequenting graveyards with monotonous regularity. The Goldstone Commission was appointed by the South African regime. That Commission drags the victims of apartheid before it rather than the perpetrators of the genocidal violence.

(Mr. Pheko)

The South African regime has fooled the world with sweet phrases in order to hide its double agenda of perpetuating apartheid minority rule in a different guise. Some of those phrases are "national peace accord", "Convention for a Democratic South Africa", "unrest areas", "interim government", and so on. "Unrest areas" is the regime's term for the state of emergency. The state of emergency was recently declared in areas such as Cradock, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth and so on, under the heading "unrest areas".

The South African regime has defied the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989 with impunity. The regime has resisted the drawing up of a constitution by a democratically elected constituent assembly. The regime is now plotting a political bluff, which it calls "interim government", and which it will control as it has the "Convention for a Democratic South Africa" (CODESA). The main purpose of the "interim government" would therefore be to delay the writing of the new constitution and to prolong minority racist rule and the oppression of the voteless indigenous African majority.

The real reason why the South African regime favours an "interim government" but not a new constitution giving a vote to the African majority is that, according to the 1983 apartheid Constitution, it must hold elections by March 1994. The regime hopes to have sanctions lifted by an "interim government". With a few black faces in that government, the regime hopes to deceive the world once again that it is dismantling apartheid. That will also enable the regime to declare a state of emergency, detain opponents of apartheid without trial, and legitimize itself.

The PAC has told the regime that it does not accept the so-called interim government but that it accepts a transitional authority that involves the international community in its supervision, one that is made up of all

(Mr. Pheko)

political organizations that want to stand for elections to the constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution as well as the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

(Mr. Pheko)

The objective of the Transitional Authority is to identify the items impacting directly on the transition. The idea is to have international and local participation to ensure that the democratic electoral transition is free and fair. The PAC has identified four areas, as follows: supervision of elections for a constituent assembly; control of public-owned electronic media - television and radio; control of the security forces; and control over defined areas of the budget more specifically related to the aforementioned three items.

The idea is not to be involved with unrelated items not directly relevant to transition. During the transitional period, the South African regime must be seen to be a white minority illegitimate colonial structure. It must not be allowed to turn itself into a so-called interim government and attract finance from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and others. This financial assistance must flow only when the government is seen to be based on a new constitution democratically drawn up and adopted in accordance with the national aspirations of the dispossessed African majority and the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989.

The United Nations Declaration itself speaks, inter alia, of:

> "Agreed transitional arrangements and modalities for the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, and for the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections." (resolution S-16/1, para. 8 (c))

The Declaration says this would indicate irreversibility in the dismantling of apartheid, not a mere so-called interim government in which De Klerk is a player and a referee as he was at CODESA.

(Mr. Pheko)

Last year, because of the euphoria fanned by the South African regime and its friends, the United Nations resolutions were very much watered down. It has now been a year and all that the victims of apartheid have is death and reduction of their population, while the whites play their rugby, tennis, and so on, even at the Barcelona Olympic Games. Amidst the euphoria of the so-called many positive changes in South Africa, Mr. F.W. de Klerk won one reward after another and received several red-carpet treatments wherever he went outside apartheid South Africa.

The sports boycott was also lifted. The PAC opposed lifting the sports boycott. We still do. We think it is unjust, to put it mildly, that the genocide perpetrated by the regime against our people should be exchanged for their being allowed to play their rugby, cricket, tennis, and so on, while we die like flies. The South African contingent went to the Barcelona Olympic Games while we were burying the victims of the Boipatong and other massacres. Among the victims of the Boipatong massacre were Mrs. Elizabeth Ndamase, an 85-year old grandmother, Aaron Mothope, a 9-year old baby, and several pregnant women.

To the Barcelona Olympic Games South Africa sent only 10 Africans - and 86 whites. This is in a country where whites constitute only 13 per cent of the population. Miss Cheryl Roberts took part in the Barcelona Olympic Games. Here is her testimony in brief:

> "We were the only country to have two flags, one being the flag of the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) and, of course, the apartheid South Africa flag, which was ever present with the white South Africans. Although all knew the conditions we would compete under, several openly condemned the NOCSA flag, while others ridiculed it.

(Mr. Pheko)

"'What's the use of being among the medals when we won't raise the South African flag?' one athlete said to her manager. When we arrived back in South Africa, two sets of South Africans greeted us - blacks chanting for black members, who certainly relished the lack of opposition.

"'How could we have fooled ourselves?' I thought. For three weeks we told the world we were a united team, but at Jan Smuts airport reality was there for all to see. ... If the flag issue was a bitter pill to swallow, the thought of our disadvantaged areas was even worse. As whites moved in the direction of affluent suburbs, reality stared us in the face. We were united for three weeks because all had access to the same facilities at the Olympics, but back in South Africa the position was the same as before."

The South African regime has to this day not abolished the Population Registration Act or the Internal Security Act. It has merely amended these Acts, thus treating with complete contempt the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989. On 21 October 1992, several PAC members were detained under the Internal Security Act. Among these were Johannes Jikila, Branch Chairman in the Orange Free State Region, Mr. David Matshoane and Petrus Motlatsi Morollwane. Returning exiles have been harassed and many have been killed. Indeed, the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles has confirmed that the repatriation process has been negatively affected because of claims of harassment. And many returned exiles are leaving South Africa again.

Attempts are being made by certain forces to betray the victims of apartheid by falsely claiming that apartheid is dead. That is not true. The truth is that these forces are now looking after their own interests and not those of the victims of apartheid. The PAC will not allow the victims of

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apartheid and colonialism in South Africa to be betrayed. In the words of our founding President, Professor Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe: We shall not deviate. We shall not retreat. We shall not compromise the interests of the oppressed. We shall not relent. We shall not equivocate. And we shall win.

Those who are dazzled by cosmetic and superficial changes in South Africa and claim that apartheid is dead must show us the carcass of apartheid. They must also tell us which perpetrators of apartheid have been charged with this crime against humanity in accordance with the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Dennis Frado, representative of the Lutheran World Federation.

Mr. FRADO: I am Dennis Frado, Main Representative of the Lutheran World Federation at United Nations Headquarters in New York. Before beginning my statement, I would first like to express my organization's gratitude for the opportunity to address the Committee today, and our best wishes for the successful completion of its work.

The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) is a non-governmental organization in consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Our 114 member churches have a total membership of some 54 million persons. We have three member churches in South Africa, totalling about 790,000 persons. The vast majority of the members of these churches are black South Africans, victims of apartheid.

The practice of apartheid has posed a severe challenge to the church. Not only do members of our churches suffer under the apartheid system, but the ideology of apartheid has its roots in a misguided interpretation of the Bible and Christian teaching. When the early proponents of apartheid said that separation of the races was called for by God's will, this was a direct

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challenge to the churches elsewhere to say whether their understanding of the faith was the same. The response has been a resounding "no". In our view, the Christian faith teaches that all people are created equal before God. This essential community of all human beings transcends boundaries of race, colour, language, culture and geography. No one is better than someone else because of skin colour.

While this teaching may seem self-evident, it has none the less been a hard one for some to accept. Two of the LWF member churches in the Southern Africa region are comparatively small, largely white churches of German heritage. One of them has congregations in South Africa, while the other has congregations in both South Africa and Namibia.

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Because these congregations had failed publicly and unequivocally to reject the system of apartheid and to end the division of the church on racial grounds, they were suspended from membership in the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) in 1984. While the suspended churches were reinstated into membership last year, that action took place only after several pastoral visits over a number of years, resulting in the public rejection of apartheid by the suspended churches and in concrete efforts to integrate the work of the Lutheran churches in South Africa.

At the time the churches were suspended, in 1984, the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation also urged all LWF member churches to take visible and concrete steps, including boycotts of goods and withdrawal of investments, to end all economic and cultural support of apartheid. They were also urged to advocate that their Governments enact sanctions against South Africa until such time as apartheid was totally dismantled. The Federation Assembly also affirmed the LWF's commitment to advocate peaceful and positive change towards the equality of all people in the societies of southern Africa.

In 1990 the Council of the LWF made a statement on sanctions and democracy in South Africa. It reads as follows:

"The LWF supports the struggle to achieve a just, united, non-racial and democratic State in South Africa on the basis of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989, among which are the following:

"South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State; all its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality regardless of race, colour, sex or creed; all its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration

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of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage under a non-racial voters roll and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa; all shall have the right to form and join a political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism; all shall enjoy universally recognized human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights; South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law; South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary; there shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans; and a democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with all peoples.

"The LWF believes that only when a new constitution based on those principles has been adopted can international sanctions against South Africa be relaxed."

It is in response to that mandate that I appear here today.

Perhaps one of the most disturbing aspects of the current situation in South Africa is that the violence has continued over the past year and that it has in some respects intensified. The Government of South Africa is primarily responsible for this situation, both indirectly by financing and training perpetrators of the violence and stalling the process of transition to a non-racial, democratic State and, in some instances, directly through acts by the security forces. While every injury and death that is rooted in the legacy of apartheid is reprehensible, the fact that massacres have occurred, such as those at Boipatong, Bisho and Folwani this year, is truly appalling.

(Mr. Prado)

We reiterate our call for the Government to extend the rule of law uniformly, fully investigate these and other incidents and bring to justice those responsible.*

We also call on leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) to continue their investigation of the violations of human rights which are reported to have taken place in detention camps in a number of African States. While the need for security in the face of continued infiltration by opponents of the liberation struggle can be understood, there can be no justification for the degrading treatment to which some suspects were reportedly subjected. Those found to be responsible for these atrocities should be exposed and brought to court. We commend the President of the ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela, for his candour about the allegations, and the commitment of the ANC's National Executive Committee to implement recommendations of the commission of inquiry.

We call on all South Africans to exercise maximum restraint and refrain from every act of violence.

Despite the ending of some legal aspects of the apartheid system, corresponding economic and political measures have not been taken to correct deep-seated problems. For example, the land acts have been rescinded, but no action has been taken to return lands which were taken away. Nor have significant programmes been established to enable people to acquire land if they wish. The police and security forces remain in the control of the white regime. The media are largely controlled by white allies of the Government.

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* Mr. Fuentes Ibañez (Bolivia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

(Mr. Prado)

The amnesty proposal, introduced but defeated in Parliament and then adopted by the State President's Council, has been discredited by a number of church leaders as effectively suggesting that one can grant forgiveness of oneself. It has also been rejected for undermining respect for the law in a future democratic society by appearing to set some people and the Government above the law.

While negotiations have been taking place in recent weeks among several of the key political actors in South Africa, they have not led to a reconvening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). CODESA is a representative forum in which the negotiation process can move forward toward the election of a constituent assembly. Indeed, a prominent South African Lutheran, Dean Tshenuwani Simon Farisani, has been an active participant in CODESA.

While the situation in South Africa remains very grave, there have been encouraging activities at the international level in the past several months. These involve the decisions of several institutions to take action to discourage the violence in South Africa. We commend the Security Council for its resolution 765 (1992) of 16 July 1992 inviting the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative, and its resolution 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992 authorizing the Secretary-General to send groups of monitors to help deter the violence. While a number of these monitors have been deployed, we believe it would be helpful for the United Nations to increase the quantity and visibility of the monitors to enhance their effect.

We also take positive note of the recent decision of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to appoint a

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special representative in South Africa, who is to coordinate the deployment and activities of OAU observers there.

The Lutheran World Federation has provided support to the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme in South Africa, a joint effort of the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in cooperation with their overseas partners. The Monitoring Programme provides a mechanism for monitoring the violence in South Africa within the broad context of the political processes. It will monitor and report on the process of negotiations for a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial South Africa and will monitor and report on the electoral proceedings that are determined by the negotiating partners so as to assist the participation of all South Africans in an electoral process.

The first ecumenical monitors, an eminent persons' group, issued a report in late September which was noteworthy. They found that, everywhere they visited in South Africa, people affirmed the need for monitors "because their very presence has the impact of reducing violence". "We have been told", they went on,

"that it is possible to chart statistically the drop in violent incidents, especially in mass demonstrations, when monitors are present".

(Mr. Frado)

Among their recommendations was the creation of an interim government of limited duration whose task it would be to oversee the administration of justice and the speedy transition to democratic representative government. They also said that, while the National Peace Accord remained the framework for resolving the violence, they had heard from many people that it had serious flaws in its mechanisms and the way it was operating. They said that even though some signed the Accord they were ignoring its principles. They also had the impression that the Accord was not holding the Government and its homelands structures to the same standard of accountability as the black community. They concluded that instead it must be applied without bias.

Last year the Council of the Lutheran World Federation encouraged its member churches to study the February 1991 statement of the World Council of Churches Assembly held at Canberra, Australia. Among its recommendations were several whose general thrust the international community should still pursue: first, to maintain sanctions and continue campaigns of divestment from banks and transnational corporations until such time as all apartheid laws are abolished and the demise of apartheid is declared to be irreversible; secondly, to make available accurate information on the situation in South Africa; and, thirdly, to work in partnership with indigenous South African non-governmental organizations to implement programmes to repatriate and resettle returnees and develop plans for social reconstruction in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Late last month, at the All Africa Conference of Churches meeting in Harare, Archbishop Desmond Tutu stressed the urgency of the need for an interim government and elections for a constituent assembly. He said:

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"We cannot afford delays. Each day we delay in resolving the South African crisis it means an increase in fatalities among our people."

I am grateful for this opportunity to share our views with the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on Ms. Donna Katzin of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility.

Ms. KATZIN: My name is Donna Katzin, and I am Director of South Africa Programs for the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility. On behalf of our 20-year-old coalition of 250 United States and Canadian religious-institutional investors, I am honoured to address the Committee this morning.

As we look back over the past year in South Africa's history there is much to celebrate, but perhaps even more to mourn. The South African Government has indeed lifted some pieces of apartheid legislation and participated in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. It has also agreed to restrict the use of cultural weapons, contain hostels and release remaining political prisoners - commitments to which the international community must hold Pretoria to ensure their implementation.

None the less, South Africa's apartheid structures remain firmly in place. Ongoing international pressures are crucial for the realization of the primary and still elusive goal of the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (resolution S-16/1): South Africa's transformation into a single, non-discriminatory democracy.

There are obstacles to democracy. Though the majority of the people of South Africa and the international community urgently wish South Africa were on the verge of democracy and peace, this is not yet the case. The State-sponsored massacres at Boipatong and Bisho alone added more than

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70 deaths to the list of over 7,000 South Africans, primarily people of colour, who have been killed since Nelson Mandela's release from prison, in an avalanche of violence the Government has been alternately unable and unwilling to stop.

Last Friday, 30 October, the South African Council of Churches issued a statement which began as follows:

"The South African Council of Churches is fearful that the continuing violence in Natal can lead to a civil war in that region that can spread throughout the country. We are also concerned at the energy that has to be used in dealing with that situation that is urgently needed for the major task of moving the nation towards an interim government and a new dispensation.

"The latest deaths, including that of Reggie Hadebe of the ANC, suggest a sinister plot to undermine the whole peace process ...".

I should like to add a historical note to the international community. When 2,600 people were killed when London was bombed during the Second World War it was considered a tragedy of drastic proportions and fuelled the campaign of coordinated international military response. The current disaster of nearly three times that human proportion in South Africa summons the international community to do all in its power to press Pretoria to take the long overdue step of transferring power to a representative interim government mandated to deliver a constitutional democracy in the shortest period of time.

As Pretoria fails to take the steps necessary to halt this violence and allows homeland administrations free rein in restricting political activity, it also continues to engage in other tactics to delay and derail democracy.

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Some of these efforts take place behind the scenes, such as the governmental pressures last July to prevent progressive business leaders from reaching an agreement with the Congress of South African Trade Unions to coordinate measures to accelerate political change.

Other steps, too, fly in the face of the aim of reconciling parties and reaching a political settlement. Examples of such steps include overt executive initiatives. Among them, as has been mentioned, is the proposal for a general amnesty, including an amnesty for members of the security forces who have committed atrocities, a proposition which has been broadly rejected by South Africa's liberation movements under present circumstances. These obstacles to a democratic and peaceful transformation continue, and the international community thus has reason to question Pretoria's willingness to relinquish power and reason to doubt the good faith of its actions.

At the same time as the South African Government and the minority interests it represents delay the transfer of power, they are also helping to consolidate their control of the economy. An early example was the imposition of the value-added tax last fall, which precipitated the largest strike in South African history up to that time. Though Pretoria took advice on this measure from the International Monetary Fund, it failed to heed the voice of the democratic organizations on the ground, covering more than a million organized workers, that oppose the reshaping of the South African economy until a representative government is in place.

A more recent example is the land issue. Pretoria's decision to sell State land to private individuals and to transfer some of it to homelands - KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa - thereby bolstering the morally bankrupt bantustan system at this stage in history, is reprehensible.

(Ms. Katzin)

In the process the State not only forestalls democracy by consolidating political and economic power; it also drains the supply of resources desperately needed by a future democratic government to address the catastrophic economic and social legacy of apartheid.

Furthermore, Pretoria's policies and de facto intransigence have added momentum to the downhill slide of the South African economy into its worst depression since the years 1904 to 1908. South Africa's distorted economy is now entering its third year of negative growth, with a per capita income for 1992 below that for 1977. South Africa's Finance Minister, Derek Keys, reported in September that gross fixed investment had fallen from 21 per cent of the gross domestic product in 1989 to 16 per cent in the middle of 1992. This has meant that South African companies are barely covering the investment needed to maintain their operations.

(Ms. Katzin)

As internal markets have been curtailed by the economic subjugation of the majority population, the productivity of the workforce of colour has been severely undermined by apartheid education, health, land, housing and employment policies.

Meanwhile, duplicative, triplicative and quadruplicative apartheid structures according to race, a bloated civil service and continuing covert operations have swollen the State budget and wasted valuable resources for unproductive, in fact destructive, purposes. To circumvent international pressures, Pretoria has also paid an "apartheid premium" on goods such as oil and implemented a series of policies such as exaggerated import substitution. Together, these measures have cost South Africa an estimated R30 to R40 billion.

Moreover, the mismanagement of the national economy has cost South Africa an additional 2 per cent of growth, or R60 billion, each year, according to the Director of the South Africa Foundation. These factors have grossly exacerbated the already damaging effects of the southern African drought and international recession.

Finally, the volatile and violent investment climate has continued to discourage new long-term loans and investment in South Africa, and effectively to exclude that country from significant international financial markets. South Africa's Finance Minister, Derek Keys, stated last month that a representative interim Government must be installed and violence ended before the economy can resume healthy growth.

Clearly, if Pretoria is to continue delaying the advent of a representative interim Government, it will swell its mortuaries with black bodies, continue the devastation of its economy and jeopardize the possibility of a viable, democratic State emerging from the rubble.

(Ms. Katzin)

At this time, a number of strategic international measures can increase pressure for Pretoria to advance democracy. That, in fact, is why we are here this morning. In addition to political measures, financial and corporate presssures are also crucial.

South Africa's history since 1985 has demonstrated that financial pressures have proved among the most effective in moving Pretoria towards change. During the coming months, the following financial strategies are needed to compel Pretoria to halt the violence and to proceed in good faith to expedite the transition to a representative Government.

First, as the South African liberation movements, trade union federations and the South African Council of Churches have underscored, this is not yet the time for new loans to any South African borrowers. New loans now send Pretoria the dangerous signal that changes to date are sufficient to win moral and financial support from the international community and that no further transformation is needed. We wish to commend Morgan Guaranty for its decision last year not to extend a new, premature loan to South Africa's Independent Development Trust.

While long-term loans have not been forthcoming for the most part, a number of European banks have, however, engaged in shorter-term loans. Further, the international community should also discourage new investments in South African banks.

Second, as South Africa's third interim debt-rescheduling agreement expires in 1993, it is important that international creditors not renew that agreement unless and until a representative interim Government is in place.

By making the rescheduling of that agreement conditional on the formation of an interim Government, international banks and those who influence their

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behaviour can accelerate South Africa's transition to democracy and economic stability.

Third, banks with important links to South Africa should be pressed now to sever them. These ties include not only direct investment in operations but also day-to-day transactional relationships such as correspondent banking, which facilitate South Africa's international finance and trade. Until these ties have been severed, more pressures must be forthcoming. In the United States, for example, banks such as Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, Morgan and Bankers Trust retain correspondent ties to South African banks.

Chemical Bank deserves a special bit of attention, since it made a deliberate decision within the past year to re-engage in correspondent banking after its principled determination two years ago to close its South African correspondent accounts. When Chemical merged with Manufacturers Hanover this year, rather than preserving its own policy of prohibiting such business relationships with South African banks, the new, merged Chemical chose to keep its partner's correspondent ties. It is significant that increasing South Africa's financial isolation will not only exert pressure for Pretoria to hasten the establishment of an interim Government; it will also provide support for campaigns taking place on the ground. The South African National Civic Organization, for example, has requested that international banks not do business with banks inside the country such as South Africa's First National - formerly Barclay's - which continue to lend money to Pretoria while discriminating against township borrowers.

Fourth, the international community should discourage the flight of South African capital, which will be sorely needed to rebuild a democratic South Africa. Recently the international community has sold assets to a growing

(Ms. Katzin)

number of South African companies, which have exported capital for foreign acquisitions such as that of the United States conglomerate Del Monte, Germany's Hanover Papier, the United Kingdom's Henry Ansbacher Holdings, and the British Allied Trust Bank.

It is also critical that transnational corporations, in addition to banks, not undermine other diplomatic, legislative and economic pressures for change in South Africa by investing new capital or expanding existing operations there before an interim Government is in place. This means that sanctions - such as the more than 150 maintained by United States localities - should be kept in place, and it also means that international efforts must be maintained to discourage new investment in South Africa until power has been transferred.

The effort should not be too difficult, though, since - at least in the United States - most companies are refraining from making new investments until they perceive a more stable political and economic environment. Last spring, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility gathered statements from a number of United States companies to the effect that they would not expand operations or invest new foreign capital in South Africa until an interim Government or similar mechanism is established.

While continued pressures are needed now to ensure that South Africa transfers power to an interim Government mandated to lead the country to a constitutional democracy, international strategies must shift once a new transitional authority - a democratic authority - is established. Once such a representative Government is in place, it will need to begin to address the overloaded agenda of economic democracy left by the legacy of apartheid, developmental deformation and economic mismanagement.

(Ms. Katzin)

In order for a new Government to begin to help all of its people claim those entitlements outlined in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, additional measures will be needed. The distortions are staggering. More than half of South Africans are unemployed, while 16 million - two thirds of the black population - live below subsistence levels. More than 4 million South Africans of colour have been driven from their land, and 7 million will be homeless by the year 2000. Many more statistics are available.

And so it is clear that new investment and dramatic international support will be crucial to the development and stability of new political and economic democracy in South Africa. However, that cause will not be advanced by helter-skelter investment purely at the whim of international investors or by business in the style to which transnational corporations became accustomed under apartheid.

Instead, the international community will need to be guided by the priorities and parameters set by the people of South Africa and the democratic organizations through which they work. Since most of these organizations were banned in South Africa when previous codes of corporate conduct were written, it is time now for multinationals to prepare to listen to and observe such South African standards when they are consolidated. It is also time for Governments to consider what support they may lend to these initiatives in the future.

(Ms. Katzin)

A number of United Nations agencies are to be commended for the steps they are taking, in consultation with South African organizations, to outline how the United Nations system can best help South Africa address its socio-economic agenda in delicate conjunction with the eradication of apartheid. The Conference in Windhoek last May and the United Nations consensus resolution 46/79 A were important steps in that direction.

To date the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and the African National Congress (ANC) have all taken steps to set standards for the conduct of domestic and international companies in the future South Africa. Though at this time they have not all signed off on a single document, the principles common to their positions share the same basic components - affirmative action, equality of treatment, workers' rights, education and training, environmental protection, community social responsibility programmes and accountability.

These principles can provide an important vehicle for strengthening South Africa's civil society and laying the foundation for a dynamic partnership through which companies, communities, unions, religious and political organizations can establish a new political and economic order. In the future, international governments can support these mechanisms and help to create mechanisms to monitor and promulgate such standards. In so doing they will help to ensure that their companies comply with international standards and make the most effective contribution to South Africa's reconstruction.

But in the meantime the international community must stay the course. The United Nations needs to continue to support the leadership and positive

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role played by the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid. The combined efforts of the United Nations and all its Member States are needed to hold Pretoria to its agreements and support South Africa's democratic forces. In order to stop the violence and ensure that South Africa's democratic future is not stillborn, we, the international community, must keep the pressure on.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on Ms. Vinie Burrows of the Sub-Committee on Southern Africa of the Non-Governmental Organizations Committee on Human Rights.

Ms. BURROWS: On behalf of members of the Sub-Committee on Southern Africa of the Non-Governmental Organizations Committee on Human Rights of New York, I, as Chairperson of the Sub-Committee, appreciate the opportunity to address the Special Political Committee. We are a diverse group of anti-apartheid activists with members from the religious, youth, women, labour, Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean communities. We are deeply committed to supporting the struggle of the black majority in South Africa and also to promoting implementation of the 1989 landmark United Nations consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

Optimism is a rare commodity in today's South Africa. Two years after the momentum of internal and external pressure had compelled De Klerk to legalize more than 60 restricted organizations, to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, to place a moratorium on hangings, to repeal the Separate Amenities Act and to lift most emergency regulations, the nightmare of escalating violence in the townships has taken the lives of more than 8000 blacks and has derailed the multiparty negotiating forum, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

(Ms. Burrows)

The legacy of the apartheid system and the apartheid mentality which views the world through a glass darkly must take prime responsibility for the covert State terror amply demonstrated by the Boipatong and Bisho massacres. De Klerk must hold his Government accountable for the secret "third force" firmly buttressed in police intrigue and securely lodged in the South African Defence Forces, the intelligence forces and security systems.

The Ciskei homeland is a product and creation of apartheid. Its very existence is proof that apartheid is not dead but rather alive and well. De Klerk cannot escape responsibility for massacres in the homelands. Clear evidence exists, for example, that the Ciskei Defence Force has, in open collaboration with the South Africa Defence Force, conducted extensive raids, with repression and intimidation becoming the order of the day. Hit squads attack with grenades the homes of activists and African National Congress (ANC) members in a clearly established pattern of killing and brutality.

De Klerk evidently lacks the political will to mount a national response to eliminate the orchestrated savagery which has claimed the lives of thousands and ravages the daily lives of many thousands more. The killings and assassinations have created a growing refugee problem, which is reaching crisis proportions. Women and children, as the most vulnerable members of society, have been particularly hurt.

While the prime responsibility for the violence must rest with the Government, political leaders in all sectors must accept their obligation to meet without delay and mediate differences. President Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress has wisely recognized the need for restraint and discipline despite the extreme provocation that undeniably does exist in many

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specific instances. His call has been echoed by the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), which has suggested that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) should give the religious community a larger role in the peacemaking process and in the healing and reconciliation that must take place.

The talked-about possibility of a summit on peace within the context of multiparty talks between signatories to the peace accord set up in 1991 is a meaningful and responsible initiative towards ending the violence.

The arduous and long-term task of forging a new South Africa with one person, one vote, rests ultimately with the black and the white people of South Africa. The nation's deteriorating economy is being demolished by the current political impasse and the global recession. A quarter of a million jobs have been lost in South Africa in the past three and one half years of recession, the longest in 80 years. Investment spending and company profits are at a 20-year low. Insolvencies have surged. The economy is set to shrink in 1992 for the third year in a row. There is zero annual growth. Black unemployment is at 40 per cent, white unemployment at 10 per cent, and both are rising. Politicians and economists say the only long-term solution is economic growth but the country needs a political settlement first.

Within this setting the international community can play a decisive role in helping the Republic of South Africa to move more swiftly in the direction of an interim government and a constituent assembly. It is regrettable that some countries have relaxed those financial constraints which bore heavily on the economic health of the Republic of South Africa. We would urge the continued maintenance of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions. We likewise urge the continued application of the arms and oil embargoes.

(Ms. Burrows)

The Special Committee against Apartheid has advocated a two-track policy of pressure on the South African authorities, while at the same time offering humanitarian, legal and educational relief and other forms of assistance to victims and opponents of apartheid. The wisdom of this policy can be decisive in bringing about irreversible political change in South Africa and in addressing some of the root causes of the socio-economic imbalance caused by apartheid. The ultimate goal is a new democratic, non-racist and non-sexist South Africa, which will be a welcome addition to the international community striving for peace and justice for all on this planet.

The following members of the Sub-Committee on Southern Africa have signed this statement: the Women's International Democratic Federation; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; the Gray Panthers; the Sisters against South African Apartheid; the National Baptist Convention of the United States of America, Incorporated; the World Federation of Trade Unions; the Brooklyn Church Center; the World Federation of Methodist Women; and the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on Ms. Beatrice von Roemer, who will speak on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Ms. von ROEMER: Thank you for giving me the opportunity to address the Committee once again on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which represents over 100 million workers throughout the world.

If today we have reason to hope that the system of apartheid will soon join the list of cruel regimes brought down by the will of the people, a large part of the credit must go to the independent, non-racial trade unions of

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South Africa. Neither harassment nor imprisonment nor the fear of death have deterred them from their heroic struggle for a free, democratic South Africa.

Yet today the trade union movement once again faces a deadly threat, as the ongoing violence in South Africa is clearly targeted at the democratic movement, and intended to destabilize its activities. Trade-unionists, workers and community leaders have been killed or subjected to death threats and assassination attempts. A recent example occurred on 22 October, when Mr. Johnson Mpukumpa, the Secretary of the Western Cape Dwellers' Association, was wounded when three gunmen fired at his car. The Association is involved in a range of community services, such as providing legal advice to migrant workers, setting up a child-care centre and improving amenities around the hostels. The ICFTU has called for a full investigation into the shooting.

Last April, the house of the Northern Natal regional secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Mr. Siphc Cele, was destroyed by a bomb, which resulted in the death of one man. This was not the first attack on Mr. Cele. COSATU reported that his house had been attacked earlier by a mob of vigilantes. The following morning he was detained by the police, who assaulted him badly. While he was in the hospital, being treated for his injuries, petrol bombs were hurled into his house.

In May Mr. Moses Mayekiso, General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and three other men were arrested on charges of being in possession of two unlicensed pistols. Mr. Mayekiso and various of his colleagues had received threats and faced harassment, leading them to fear that death squads were plotting against their lives. COSATU disclosed that, following these threats, Mr. Mayekiso had applied to the police for a firearms

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licence, but no reply had been received. It described the arrest as part of a

"campaign by the police and the government to strip us of any measures we undertake in an effort to defend our lives".

The Boipatong massacre, in which 38 persons died, shocked the world last summer. It provided tragic proof of the lack of commitment on the part of the South African Government to ensure peace and security in the townships and in the whole country. The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa had been warning for more than a year that the hostel, an Inkatha stronghold, whose residents carried out the slaughter, had become a source of violence. Ten previous attacks by hostel inmates on local residents, in which 50 persons died, had already been recorded.

The ICFTU Coordinating Committee on Southern Africa, which held its forty-second meeting from 22 to 23 October, expressed deep concern over the continued violence in South Africa, the brutalization of society, the killing of trade-unionists and workers and the fact that the violence makes both free political and free trade-union activity impossible. The Committee also recognized that the South African State and its agencies, including the armed forces and the police, and sinister, armed, financially independent and unaccountable groups were responsible for organizing the violence and for creating bogus organizations with the precise purpose of destabilizing the democratic movement. Single-sex hostels, resulting from the migrant labour system of apartheid, are a tool in this policy.

While recognizing that a solution to the violence can only be reached through a political settlement and the accountability of the armed forces to a democratic government, the Committee called for the prosecution of the perpetrators of the violence by the police and judiciary, and urged all forces

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concerned to exercise restraint and to seek peaceful resolution of political conflict. It welcomed the increased role of the international community in monitoring the violence in South Africa, in particular, the work of the United Nations, which has already proven to be a moderating influence. It called for a still more extensive role of the United Nations in this process. An increased United Nations presence would indeed be in line with the objectives of the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace".

The ICFTU, for its part, will continue to support the democratic trade union movement with all means at its disposal, to strongly discourage emigration to South Africa, and to support the process of negotiation in South Africa aimed at creating a democratic society based on principles of equality and social justice and of full respect for human and trade union rights.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on Mr. Dennis Brutus, the representative of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee.

Mr. BRUTUS: It is appropriate on this occasion to express our cordial thanks to the United Nations and its agencies for the tremendous efforts that have been made to assist the struggle in South Africa to arrive at a just and democratic society.

It is also appropriate at this time to recognize the enormous efforts that have been made by the people of South Africa in our struggle and, specifically, to recognize the liberation movements and the African National Congress and its leading role.

While there is cause for appreciation and gratitude, it must also be recognized that the struggle is not yet over, and that we still have a long way to go. So this is also the time to review what action has been taken, and

(Mr. Brutus)

to ask certain questions about the rate of progress. These questions are offered in a spirit of helpfulness by someone who has actively participated in the struggle both internally and externally, and who served time in prison on Robben Island with Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Oliver Tambo, other leaders of the African National Congress and other participants in the liberation struggle.

(Mr. Brutus)

What is troubling to note that there is a widespread impression internationally - and I have observed it in Japan, from which I have just returned - that the struggle in South Africa is over and that the road to a democratic society lies open before us. This is a false impression, widely fostered by the media, and it is one that should be corrected.

The simple truth is that, while Nelson Mandela was released from prison in February 1990, he is still unable to vote in his country, and this applies to the majority of people in South Africa. This is an intolerable situation. It is compounded by the fact that the De Klerk Government, supported by its allies - the apartheid creations - continues to stall and proposes to prolong this process. Clear evidence for this appeared in a recent statement from the publication This Week in South Africa, compiled and produced by the South African Consulate-General in New York, of 13 to 19 October 1992:

> "Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Mayer, on the TV programme 'Slabbert on Sunday', said that a democratic election would definitely not be held before the last quarter of 1993."

At the same time, the Opposition to the apartheid Government has allowed itself to be bogged down in a series of bumbling talks which have made little progress and have merely contributed to confusion and obscurantism. Worse, they are in the ludicrous position of seeking support among the puppets and the surrogates of apartheid in their efforts to overthrow the apartheid system.

Perhaps the most serious consequence of this is the profound dissatisfaction expressed daily by the mass of the people. A recent letter dated 29 October 1992 sums up the position:

> "The situation in South Africa is still very bad. We cannot see any hope for improvement in the foreseeable future. With all the various power

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groupings jockeying for their individual benefits there is a recipe for future strife ... there is only further room for despair."

This position is equally true in the area of sports, in which I have for many years played a leading role. It is the white minority still clinging to its privileges that is the principal beneficiary of the ending of the sports boycott. It has led to deep dissatisfaction among the people - a dissatisfaction I predicted in a letter to Nelson Mandela at the time of the first conference of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, when I argued that the decision was premature. The cynical calculation expressed by an ANC spokesman that it was "a way of winning white votes" has been shown to be false and opportunistic. This is brought out by the statement which appeared in City Press on 18 October 1992:

"Jacky Abraham, the only black in the touring South African rugby delegation, is still not sure he took the right decision in coming to Europe ... racial feeling still runs high on the tour ... Nothing is happening for the thousands of blacks and mixed players in the new generation ... We have the impression that reunification is only helping the whites."

What is to be done? The present unsatisfactory situation must be corrected. There must be rapid movement towards real democracy. The jockeying and the behind-the-scenes tactics must stop. There must be more open consultation with the broad mass of the people, and a greater willingness to consult with them and involve them in the process of change. And this will include an honest review of past policy and a frank discussion of previous mistakes and misjudgements.

(Mr. Brutus)

Some of these mistakes, I would mention in passing, are referred to in the report just submitted from the Commission on Sport, to which I give qualified support, and which recognizes the errors and incomplete progress in the area of sport.

Finally, South Africa is poised on a point of crisis. It must either go forward to a new just dispensation or it will be doomed to a tragic and bloody mess. The people of South Africa desire peace and justice. They greatly need the help of the international community and of the United Nations to assist them in moving towards their goal.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I call on Mr. Tebogo Mafole, of the African National Congress.

Mr. MAFOLE (African National Congress): The African National Congress is highly indebted to the Special Political Committee for this opportunity to share with the members of this Committee its concerns and the concerns of millions of South Africans on the extremely volatile situation that prevails in our country as a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid.

It is now three years since the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus the historic Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. As the members of this Committee are aware, the fundamental objective visualized in the Declaration is the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country. To this end, the Member States set out the basis for an internationally acceptable solution of the South African conflict. In so doing, they recognized that the realization of such an eventuality necessitated the creation of a climate in which free political discussion could take place. Accordingly, the Declaration

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obliges the South African regime to undertake a number of measures that would remove all obstacles to free political activity.

In the period since the adoption of the Declaration, South Africa has been the scene of momentous political developments which, for better or for worse, will undoubtedly alter that country's political landscape. These political changes notwithstanding, South Africa remains to this day a country governed by a white minority regime, and in which the overwhelming majority of the population still does not enjoy the right to vote and to be elected into organs of government.

(Mr. Mafole)

If there was ever any need for a reminder of this fact, it came on 12 October, when the regime reconvened its minority Parliament and sought to impose the so-called Further Indemnity Bill, which would - under a cloak of secrecy and therefore contrary to international norms - give amnesty to members of the security forces who are guilty of serious crimes and gross violations of human rights.

The Pretoria regime, despite its concerted propaganda campaign aimed at projecting itself as a respected member of the international community, has not fully complied with the provisions of the Declaration on apartheid, especially with regard to the creation of a climate of free political activity. This is particularly the case with respect to the release of political prisoners and the repeal of legislation that circumscribes such free political activity.

With regard to political prisoners, while we welcome the release of 150 political prisoners and the prospect of the further release of the rest by 15 November as a consequence of the Record of Understanding reached between the regime and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), we are greatly concerned about Pretoria's commitment to its solemn obligations.

The political reality of South Africa itself provides sufficient reason for such caution. First, on the issue of the release of political prisoners, the regime has a very bad track record, having reneged on its obligations under the Groote Schuur Minute of May 1990 and all other subsequent agreements reached with the ANC. On 2 November the regime's Deputy Minister of Law and Order suddenly announced that his Government would no longer barricade all the compounds that had been identified as sources of violence, as agreed in the Record of Understanding. Again, this has once more put into question the

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regime's trustworthiness and fuelled the cynicism with regard to any agreements reached with the regime's men.

Secondly, even as agreements are reached on the release of political prisoners the death of persons in police custody is escalating at an alarming rate. A South African non-governmental organization, the Human Rights Commission, reports that since January this year 112 such deaths have occurred. During the month of October alone, 15 deaths have been recorded. This situation has been further aggravated by the fact that the Minister of Law and Order, responding to pressure, promised to institute a commission made up of retired magistrates to investigate these deaths. It is now three months since that promise was made, and there is still no sign of any commission.

Thirdly, the regime's pronouncements regarding its intentions to make a clean break with the diabolical apartheid past ring hollow in the light of recent revelations relating to the detention of children. A survey conducted jointly by the Community Law Centre, an agency based at the University of the Western Cape, Lawyers for Human Rights, and NICRO, which was published last month, reveals that there are at present 12,000 children detained in South African prisons, many of whom have not been formally charged with any offence. Even more astounding, however, was the regime's response to the report: a spokesman of the Department of Correctional Services confirmed the substance of the report but contested the figure, claiming that the correct number is much closer to 10,000.

Clearly, therefore, the international community cannot assume that the issue of political prisoners in South Africa has been put to rest solely on the strength of the Record of Understanding. Pressure must be exerted on the regime to carry out its obligations and actually release all political prisoners.

(Mr. Mafole)

Another serious problem with regard to the creation of a climate of free political activity is the continued existence on the South African statute books of pieces of security legislation and provisions that severely restrict the possibility of free and peaceful political activity. This state of affairs also obtains in the so-called independent bantustans and the self-governing states. The tensions that have arisen, particularly in areas such as the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Kwa-Zulu, are a direct consequence of the repressive policies of the authorities in those areas. The international community must therefore prevail on the regime to ensure that all these repressive measures are removed, and thereby uphold the right of all South Africans to peaceful assembly and freedom of thought and speech. All these freedoms are taken for granted in most parts of the world, and there is therefore no reason why South Africa should be an exception.

The single most critical factor in the resolution of the political problems of our country is the question of violence. Indeed, so crucial is this fact that even as far back as 1989 the United Nations Declaration on apartheid urged the concerned parties in South Africa to

> "negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, should be free of violence". (resolution S-16/1, para. 8)

It is a matter of great regret that the violence-free climate, as envisaged in the Declaration, has not been realized. On the contrary, it is more true to say that since the adoption of the Declaration there has been a phenomenal escalation of politically motivated violence. According to the Human Rights

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Commission, from July 1990 to June 1992, 6,229 politically motivated deaths occurred in South Africa, that is, an average of nine deaths per day over a two-year period. During the same period, 49 massacres and no less than 128 political assassinations were recorded. The situation became so serious that the Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity decided to request the United Nations Security Council to intervene on an urgent basis in July at a special session to address the question of violence.

There can be no doubt that the convening of the Security Council, the adoption by the Council of the relevant resolutions, the intervention by the United Nations Secretary-General, through his Special Envoy, and the subsequent deployment of United Nations Observers to monitor the violence in South Africa all made a positive contribution to the effort to address this question. Indeed, it could well be argued that these efforts may have provided the necessary momentum that led to the meeting between the ANC President, Nelson Mandela, and President De Klerk on 16 September.

It is, however, a matter of great concern that these efforts have not been able to stem the spiral of violence. In fact, there is ample evidence that violence is at present wreaking havoc, especially in parts of Natal and the Witwatersrand, at great cost in human life and property. The senseless attack last week on a gathering in Natal, resulting in the deaths of over 50 people, the recent murder of 10 people in Alexandra Township, the brutal attack on commuters in passenger trains - all of these and other acts of barbarism have become alarmingly rife in our people's daily existence.

This highly explosive situation prevailing in South Africa assumes a more frightening dimension when viewed against the background of the tensions in our region, and especially the fighting in Angola that has claimed well

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over 1,000 lives in the past week alone. The situation becomes even more ominous given the emerging evidence of links between the perpetrators of violence in such areas as Mozambique and those in our own country.

(Mr. Mafole)

Should anyone be tempted to dismiss these reports as rather far-fetched, let him consider the following.

First, a leading member of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), who incidentally was also a member of its delegation to the negotiations under the auspices of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) has publicly admitted that for over a year he has been smuggling guns from the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) in Mozambique to supply the military wing of the Inkatha Freedom Party in order to destabilize the ANC and, in his own words, to ensure that there is no climate for any election in South Africa. This, it was hoped, would enable organizations like his own to mobilize support in readiness for elections that would take place later on.

Secondly, there have been persistent reports about the presence of Portuguese-speaking persons among the armed groups that attack people on commuter trains.

Thirdly, the South African media have been reporting widely on the presence of a contingent of RENAMO fighters in Natal who, it is understood, are training IFP fighters. The training facilities have, in fact, been located and identified in certain localities in Natal.

The gravity of this matter can be discerned from the fact that the Goldstone Commission has taken it upon itself to carry out an extensive investigation of these reports. In the light of all this, there can only be one conclusion: southern Africa is becoming one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension, thus constituting a serious threat to world peace and security. This has therefore made the issue of addressing the violence in South Africa a matter of extreme exigency.

(Mr. Mafole)

In an effort to find a solution to the problem of violence, we of the ANC submit that the following steps are highly critical.

First, all organizations and administrations in South Africa should fully abide by the provisions of the National Peace Accord and the various guidelines that have been elaborated by the Goldstone Commission.

Secondly, since the principal responsibility with regard to the maintenance of law and order rests with the South African regime, it must therefore be compelled to shoulder this responsibility. More specifically, it must carry out its obligations in terms of Security Council resolution 772 (1992).

Thirdly, the regime must be held to its commitments with respect to the agreements its reached with the African National Congress concerning the hostels and the so-called "cultural weapons", as well as with regard to recommendations made by the Goldstone Commission and the United Nations Secretary-General.

Fourthly, it is of critical importance that the United Nations itself should act speedily to implement Security Council resolution 772 (1992) in its entirety, including those parts which refer to the investigation of criminal conduct and the monitoring of all armed formations in the country.

Fifthly, while we applaud the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth for acting speedily in supplementing the activities of the United Nations in South Africa, we must however caution against the United Nations using that as a reason for scaling down its own contribution. On the contrary, we urge the United Nations to spare no effort in honouring the decisions of the Security Council on this matter.

Allow me now to address, albeit very briefly, the question of negotiations. The international community threw its full weight behind the

(Mr. Mafole)

negotiation process taking place within the framework of CODESA, precisely because it was correctly perceived as the birth of a product in which the world body had itself played a significant part through the adoption of the Declaration on Apartheid. Consequently, the breakdown experienced at the second plenary session of CODESA raised very grave concerns. An important lesson to be learned, in our view, is that all political parties in the negotiations should commit themselves to the realization of the perspective represented by the constitutional principles contained in the Declaration, failing which they can never reach any agreement that would effectively end the system of apartheid and transform South Africa into an non-racial democracy.

The meeting of 26 September between the regime and the ANC agreed, amongst other things, that there would be a resumption of bilateral discussions on constitutional issues between the two entities. It was further agreed that this process would be extended to other organizations that have been involved in the constitutional negotiations. The date for the commencement of such talks has been announced as 22 November, 1992. It is important to mention that there has been broad agreement reached that there should be an elected Constituent Assembly and an interim Government. The latter would be preceded by the establishment of various statutory executive bodies that would guarantee a level playing field and the possibility of free and fair elections.

We have gone to great lengths to ensure that we leave no doubt as to where the ANC stands with regard to the political developments in South Africa. It is quite clear that the resolution of the problem in our country is primarily the responsibility of the South Africans themselves. We do,

(Mr. Mafole)

however, take courage at the fact that the peoples of the world have made a solemn commitment to do all that is necessary to rid the world of the scourge of apartheid.

Accordingly, we urge the members of this Committee to do all in their power to ensure that existing measures against the regime are maintained and that any change in the status quo is in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

To conclude, may I, on behalf of the ANC, seize this opportunity to reiterate our determination to eradicate apartheid and on its ashes to build a truly non-racial, united and democratic South Africa. In so doing, we are strengthened by the unshaken resolve of the millions of our people whose yearning for freedom fears no sacrifice. We are also greatly inspired by the heroism of all those who are fighting for their self-determination in Western Sahara, Palestine and elsewhere in the world. To them we wish to pay our tribute.

Finally, let us place on record our heartfelt gratitude to the States Members of the United Nations for the invaluable assistance that we continue to receive from them on both the bilateral and multilateral levels. We are convinced that the day is not far off when a democratic South Africa will take its place among the nations of the world.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 33. The Rapporteur will present the Committee's report to the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.